

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1507

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 6526

MILITARY ADDRESSEES FOR POLADS

E.O. GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, GE, GW, WB, CSCE, UR, US, UK, FR

SUBJECT: THE 1975 USSR-GDR TREATY: SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

1. SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE IS IN TWO PARTS: THE FIRST

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SUMMARIZES MAIN PROVISIONS OF THE "TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP,

COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE" SIGNED IN MOSCOW ON OCTOBER 7 BY BREZHNEV AND SED FIRST SECRETARY HONECKER. (TRANSLATIONS OF THE PROVISIONS ARE INFORMAL, BASED UPON A TEXT PUBLISHED IN "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND".) THE SECOND PART PROVIDES AN ANALYSIS OF THE MEANING OF THIS NEW TREATY. END SUMMARY.

I. TREATY PROVISIONS

1. PREAMBLE. A LONG PREAMBLE DESCRIBES THE USSR AND GDR AS BUILDING ON "A CLOSE BROTHERLY TIE BASED UPON THE FOUNDATION OF MARZISM-LENINISM AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM," AND STATES THAT THE "STRENGTHENING OF UNITY AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE GDR AND USSR IS IN ACCORD WITH THE BASIC INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLES OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND THE COMMUNITY OF SOCIALIST STATES, AND SERVES FURTHER RAPPROCHEMENT AMONG SOCIALIST NATIONS." IT "IMPUTES MEAING OF THE HIGHEST ORDER TO THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND SOVIEREIGNTY OF BOTH STATES AGAINST ANY ATTACK," AND PROMISES "STRICT OBSERVANCE" OF COMMITMENTS STEMMING FROM THE WARSAW PACT.

2. A FURTHER SECTION OF THE PREAMBLE ATTRIBUTES "GREAT SIGNIFICANCE" TO "THE DEVELOPMENT AND DEEPENING OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION."

3. THE "FIRM INTENTION" IS ESPRESSED FURTHER TO SOLIDIFY "PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND IN THE WHOLE WORLD," AND "TO MAKE A REALITY OF THE COLLECTIVELY WORKED OUT PRINCIPLES FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES HAVING DIFFERING SOCIAL STRUCTURES" IN ORDER TO DEVELOP "FRUITFUL AND MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS COOPERATION ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT." (COMMENT: THIS MAY BE AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE.)

4. THE PREAMBLE FINALLY NOTES THAT THE GDR, "HAVING FULFILLED THE PRINCIPLES OF THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT," HAS BECOME A MEMBER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS A "SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST STATE," AND DESCRIBES
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THE SIGNATORS AS GUIDED BY THE GOALS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER.

5. ARTICLES 1-4. THE THEMES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COLLABORATION ARE INTERTWINED IN THE FIRST FOUR TREATY ARTICLES.

6. ARTICLE I SETS THE GOAL OF STRENGTHENING

"PERPETUAL AND ABSOLUTE FRIENDSHIP AND BROTHERLY MUTUAL HELP IN ALL AREAS," WITH MUTUAL OBSERVANCE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE, EQUALITY OF RIGHTS, AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

7. ARTICLES 2 AND 3 ELABORATE ON THIS THEME, PROMISING "TO UNIFY THE EFFECTIVE USE OF THE MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL POTENTIAL OF THEIR PEOPLES AND STATES" IN ORDER TO BUILD UP SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST SOCIETY. IN CONFORMITY WITH THE GOALS OF SOCIALIST ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, AND "BETTER TO GRATIFY THE MATERIAL AND CULTURAL NEEDS OF THEIR PEOPLE," BOTH SIDES WILL EXPAND ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC--TECHNICAL COOPERATION TOWARD THE GOAL OF SECURITY AND "AN EVER CLOSER MESHING OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIES." EXTENSIVE TIES ARE PROMISED IN SCIENCE, CULTURE AND EDUCATION; LITERATURE AND ARTS; PRESS, RADIO, FILM, AND TELEVISION; HEALTH, ECOLOGY AND TOURISM; BODY CULTURE AND SPORT--"AND OTHER AREAS AS WELL."

8. ARTICLE 4 CONTAINS A STATEMENT OF READINESS TO TAKE "THE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR THE PROTECTION AND DEFENSE OF THE HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM" IN THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY.

9. ARTICLES 5 AND 6. THESE ARTICLES DEAL WITH SECURITY AND THE INVIOABILITY OF BOUNDARIES, AND CONTAIN A COMMITMENT TO WORK AGAINST ANY EMERGENCE OF REVANCHISM AND MILITARISM.

10. IN ARTICLE 5, BOTH SIDES PROMISE TO USE ALL AVAILABLE MEASURES TO BRING ABOUT A CONSISTENT REALIZATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH STATES HAVING DIFFERENT SOCIAL STRUCTURES. THE SIGNATORS WILL SEEK TO EXPAND AND CONFIDENTIAL

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DEEPEN DETENTE ("ENTSPANNUNGSPROZESS") IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. THEY FAVOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, AND WILL STRIVE TO BANISH WAR.

11. IN ARTICLE 6, THE INVIOABILITY OF EUROPEAN NATIONAL BOUNDARIES IS DESCRIBED AS "THE MOST IMPORTANT CONDITION TO GUARANTEE EUROPEAN SECURITY." THE TWO GOVERNMENTS FIRMLY RESOLVE THAT TOGETHER, AND IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE OTHER WARSAW PACT STATES, THEY WILL GUARANTEE THE UNASSAILABILITY OF SOVIET AND GDR BOUNDARIES "AS THEY EMERGED FROM THE OUTCOME OF WORLD WAR II AND POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS, INCLUDING THE BORDERS BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY."

12. ARTICLE 7 ADDRESSES WEST BERLIN, AND STATES IN ITS

ENTIRETY THAT: "THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP THEIR RELATIONS WITH WEST BERLIN IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 3, 1971, PROCEEDING FROM THE FACT THAT IT IS NOT A PART OF THE FRG AND ALSO WILL NOT IN THE FUTURE BE GOVERNED BY IT."

13. ARTICLE 8 CONCERNS MUTUAL ASSISTANCE, STATING THAT AND ARMED ATTACK UPON ONE STATE IS REGARDED AS AN ATTACK ON THE OTHER, OT BE MET WITH ALL ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING MILITARY, UNDER THE TERMS OF ARTICLE 51 OF THE UN CHARTER.

14. ARTICLE 9 PROVIDES FOR CONSULTATION AND STATES IN FULL THAT: "THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL, ON ALL IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS, INFORM EACH OTHER, CONSULT, AND ACT ON A COMMON POSITION BASED UPON AGREED INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES."

15. ARTICLE 10 SPECIFIES THAT THE PRESENT AGREEMENT WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH WIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES STEMMING FROM OTHER VALID BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS.

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16. TRTICLE II PROVIDES FOR RATIFICATION.

17. ARTICLE 12 SPECIFIES THAT THE TREATY WILL BE
IN FORCE FOR 25 YEARS, AND PROVIDES FOR AUTOMATIC RENEWAL
OVER FURTHER TEN-YEARS PERIODS UNLESS EITHER SIDE GIVES
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12 MONTHS' ADVANCE NOTICE BEFORE THE END OF THE DURATION
OF THE TREATY.

II. ANALYSIS OF PROVISIONS

18. SOVIET-GDR RELATIONS ARE NOT IN THE FIREST INSTANCE
BASED UPON TREATIES. THEY ARE BASED UPON SOVIET CONQUEST
OF EAST GERMANY AND BERLIN AS WORLD WAR II ENDED, A CONQUEST
THAT HAS CHANGED ITS OUTWARD ASPECTS IN 30 YEARS, BUT NOT
ALL THAT MUCH ITS REALITY.

19. THE NEW TREATY IS PRIMARILY A POLITICAL DOCUMENT,
AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN TERMS OF ITS POLITICAL IMPLICA-
TIONS FOR THE GDR, INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS, AND OTHER WARSAW
PACT STATES.

20. MORE THAN THE TREATIES OF 1955 AND 1964, THE PRESENT
TREATY HIGHLIGHTS THE POSITION OF THE GDR AS A FULL-FLEDGED
INDEPENDENT STATE ON THE WORLD SCENE. THERE IS NO
MENTION OF THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY, AND THE TREATY IS
NOT CAST IN THE LIGHT OF AN EVENTUAL PEACE SETTLEMENT FOR
ALL OF GERMANY, AS WAS THE 1964 TREATY. THE DIVISION OF
GERMANY EMERGES AS ENDURING, WITH DELIBERATE EMPHASIS ON
THE PERMANENCE OF GDR-FRG BOUNDARIES AS SUCH. (THE TREATY GOES
BEYOND HELSINKI WITH REGARD TO THE POSSIBILITY OF BORDER ADJUSTMENTS.
)

21. HONECKER'S STANDING IN THE SOCIALIST WORLD, AFTER

A PERIOD IN WHICH HE WAS RUMORED TO BE OUT OF FAVOR IN MOSCOW, IS ENHANCED AND LEGITIMIZED. THE EXTRAORDINARY SCALE OF HIS RECEPTION IN THE SOVIET UNION DURING HIS VISIT TO SIGN THE TREATY IS TESTIMONY TO THIS.

2. THESE ASPECTS OF THE TREATY ARE DOUBTLESS WELCOME TO THE GDR LEADERSHIP. AT THE SAME TIME HOWEVER, THE GDR IS PLACED IN WHAT AMOUNTS TO PERMANENT BONDAGE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THE CONCEPT OF PERPETUITY IS INVOKED TO DESCRIBE AN INVOLABLE FRIENDSHIP. THE GRIP OF ECONOMIC COLLABORATION IS STRENGTHENED AND ITS MANY FORMS ARE SPELLED OUT IN GREATER DETAIL THAN IN PREVIOUS USSR-GDR AGREEMENTS.

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23. ARTICLE 9, CONCERNING CONSULTATION, IS ALSO MORE SPECIFIC. IT CALLS FOR COMMON FOREIGN ACTIONS ON IMPORTANT QUESTIONS, AND CAN INDEED BE READ AS A WARNING TO THE GDR LEADERSHIP NOT TO STRAY FROM SOVIET POLICIES.

24. THE FORMULATION OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE GOES BEYOND THE LANGUAGE OF THE WARSAW PACT AND APPROACHES THE NATO CONCEPT, WHICH RAISES THE QUESTION AS TO WHETHER A GENERAL REVISION OF THE WARSAW PACT ALONG SIMILAR LINES LIES AHEAD.

25. IT IS ONE OF THE POLITICAL ANOMALIES OF CENTRAL EUROPE THAT THIS BILATERAL AGREEMENT SPECIFICALLY ADDRESSES, IN THE CASES OF WEST BERLIN AND GDR-FRG BOUNDARIES, SITUATIONS OUTSIDE A BILATERAL CONTEXT. FOR BERLIN, THE TREATY EVISIONS A SINGLE AND JOINT USSR-GDR POLICY DIRECTED AT THE WESTERN SECTORS OF THE CITY WITHOUT A ROLE FOR BONN, AS IF WEST BERLIN WERE A THIRD GERMAN STATE.

26. EAST GERMANY IS MADE A STAKLING HORSE FOR THE SOVIET GOAL OF INTEGRATION IN EASTERN EUROPE. THE USSR-GDR RELATIONSHIP IS SET FORTH AS SOMETHING SPECIAL, A MODEL IN AN ADVANCED STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

27. THE SWEEP OF THE TREATY IS EXPANSIVE. IT CITES THE POSTDAM AGREEMENT, THE UN CHARTER FOUR TIMES, THE WARSAW PACT, AND THE QA. SIGNED ON THE 26TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE GDR, THE TREATY PROJECTS FUTURE RELATIONS OVER THE NEXT 25, I.E., UNTIL THE YEAR 2000. THE PROVISIONS OF THE 1964 AGREEMENT, DUE TO EXPIRE IN 1984, APPARENTLY ARE SET ASIDE. (IN THIS REGARD, AND FRG DIPLOMAT WAS TOLD BY THE GDR FOREIGN MINISTRY THAT THE 1964 AGREEMENT WILL BE OVERTAKEN BY THE PRESENT TREATY, WHEREAS THE 1955 TREATY, WHICH GAVE THE GDR ITS LIMITED SOVIEREIGNTY, WILL NOT. IT IS APPARENTLY CONSIDERED

THAT THE 1955 TREATY, WHICH GAVE THE GDR ITS EXISTENCE,
CANNOT BE REVOKED.)

28. THE TREATY CONTAINS AMBIGUITIES. ITS IMPLEMENTATION AT THE
OUTSET WOULD SEEM TO LIE IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS: (1) ECONOMIC
COOPERATION AND INTERGRATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION;
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(2) CONSULTATION ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS; (3) A COMMON BERLIN
POLICY; AND (4) CERTAIN CONSEQUENCES FOR MILITARY POLICY,
BILATERALLY AND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE WARSAW PACT.

29. ALL TOLD, THERE IS LITTLE GOOD NEWS IN THIS DOCUMENT
FOR THE AVERAGE EAST GERMAN. HIS COUNTRY'S SUBSERVIENCE TO THE
SOVIET UNION OVER THE NEXT QUARTER CENTURY IS DEFINED MORE
EXPLICITLY THAN BEFORE. AND IT IS FAR FROM CLEAR THAT THE
BENEFITS THAT WILL ACCRUE FROM INTEGRATION WILL REDOUND, MORE
OFTEN THAN NOT, TO HIM. COOPER

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